1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

membering, and rendering of songs; in 1923 it was found that Jim Pollard (see Plate 4) alone had a sufficiently accurate memory to act as announcer. As more and more men wished to perform, he found himself unable to keep the texts in order, and asked me to join the choir as prompter. I held this position for the rest of the winter, taking a full part in every ceremony. Although the old customs had broken down enormously, this actual participation enabled me to understand the winter dances in a manner impossible from mere description. Later on, phonographic records were made of many of the songs used, thus preserving specimens of the fast disappearing music.

My intimate association with the Bella Coola enabled me to collect the material here presented which, having been verified and reverified, I have every reason to believe is correct. Nevertheless, it has one serious defect owing to the lack of acuteness of my ear. I found it almost impossible to differentiate certain sounds; in fact, I sometimes recorded the same word with different spellings. Consequently, I cannot guarantee the accuracy of the native terms used in this monograph. Moreover, I was entirely unable to analyze proper names, which would have been of great value in understanding the attributes of supernatural beings.

When writing up field notes, the realization of my own inefficiency in the recording of sounds tempted me to rely upon the spelling of Boas whenever possible. After considerable hesitation, I rejected this course for the following reason. Ethnological work falls into two categories, descriptive and comparative. This monograph is of the former type, based on actual work in the field and the inclusion of any material from another source would destroy its originality. I believe that a descriptive work should consist exclusively of the author's own research, and I have adhered to this principle in spite of the advantages which would have followed the use of Boas' linguistic terms. For the same reason no attempt has been made to compare the customs and beliefs of the Bella Coola with those of other tribes, although this would undoubtedly have shed

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produced here. I can only place on record my deep obligation and gratitude to each of these four. Dr. D. Jenness, who succeeded Dr. Sapir, was most co-operative. In Bella Coola, I was treated with uniform kindness by the white inhabitants, particularly Mrs. Clayton, Mr. and Mrs. Bert Robson, and Mr. and Mrs. Andy Christensen.

Finally, and most important of all, I wish to express my appreciation to the Bella Coola themselves. Without their generous, kindly and helpful co-operation, this book could never have been written. I came as an uninvited stranger; they treated me as a friend and a guest; and I left with intense regret. My chief friends were Joshua Moody, Captain Schooner, and Jim Pollard, but I was also greatly assisted by Mr. Willie Mack, Mr. and Mrs. Tallio Charlie, and Mr. and Mrs. Lame Charlie. To a host of others I am indebted in only a slightly less extent. The aid and friendship of these men and women is one of my pleasantest memories, and one which I wish to record in all gratitude and appreciation.

In the actual publication of this complicated manuscript, I have likewise been fortunate in receiving co-operation and help. The University of Toronto Press accepted it for publication during the war, facing—and overcoming—the inevitable shortage of materials and of skilled craftsmen. Great difficulty was experienced in obtaining the type for phonetic symbols; to avoid undue duplication all native words, whether proper or common names, have been printed in italics. It is a tribute to the Press that it has completed the work. I am especially indebted to several former members of the editorial staff: Mrs. Hewitt, who supervised the initial editing, and her assistants, Mrs. Hackett and Mrs. Burak. Mr. Weir, foreman of the composing room of the Press, has surmounted endless difficulties with enthusiasm and ingenuity. I am also grateful to Miss Hayman, Associate Editor, who took the responsibility for final production details. Mr. Burns, General Manager of the Press, and Professor Brown, Editor, have both been helpful and co-operative throughout.

PHONETIC KEY[1]

104

VOWELS

a, as in *father*
ă, as in *hat*
e, as in *fate*
i, as in *pique*
o, as in *note*
u, as in *rule*
ə, as in *but*
ɛ, as in *met*
ɪ, as in *hit*
ʊ, as in *put*
ə, obscure vowel like *a* in *idea*
', exponent vowels, voiced but slighted in enunciation. The same device is used for consonants slighted in enunciation.

CONSONANTS

p, *t*, *k*, *ʧ*, *m*, *n*, *ŋ*, *w*, *y*, *h*, *ɬ* as in English
q, velar *k*
p', *t'*, *k'*, *ʧ'*, aspirated surds
p̣, *ṭ*, *ḳ*, *q̣*, glottalized stops
k̠, anterior palatal *k*
g̠, anterior palatal *g*
k, *d*, intermediate between surd and sonant
d̤, glottalized intermediate
ʤ, as in *jam*
ɕ, as *sh* in *shall*
ɬ, spirantal *l*
ɬl, *ɬ* + *l*
ɬ̣, glottalized *ɬ*
x, as in Scottish, *loch*
ɣ, velar *x*, as in German, *auch*
ɣ̠, anterior palatal *ɣ*, as in German, *ich*
ɹ, peculiar *r* sound, apparently velar.

ː, for example, *a*ː, or *r*, indicates lengthening of preceding vowel or consonant
ˀ, indicates a glottal stop
ʰ, indicates aspiration
ˈ, indicates accentuation of the syllable so marked.

[1]Based on the simpler system described in *Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages*, (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vol. 66, No. 6, Washington (1916), pp. 1-7).

[2]The *r* sound was used only by one old man and several of his children and grandchildren.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)948
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and other relatives of their mothers as to their fathers. It was taken as a matter of course that a child had full rights in the village of his mother, and from her, as from her relatives, he likewise received various prerogatives. Thus each child was a member of a bilateral social group. From actual residence in his father's village he tended to be more intimately associated with him and his brothers than with his mother's relatives, but this did not prevent him from visiting at the home of the latter, where he was received as a member of that village. Through the bestowal of prerogatives by his mother and the members of her family, his relationship with them was further emphasized. Such a child was, in fact, a *full* member of two groups.

When the members of the second generation married and begot children, each of these could have been a member of *four* groups; that of his father's father, father's mother, mother's father, and mother's mother. The Bella Coola believe that there were approximately forty-five groups of first settlers, corresponding to the forty-five towns, and it is obvious that if the system of intermarriage had continued for a few generations, a man would have been a member of each of these first groups. They assume that their first ancestors came to this earth far more than a few generations ago, and yet at the present time no one claims to be a descendant of more than eight of these first groups, and most claim descent from only two or three. In part this can be explained by forgetfulness, though a Bella Coola would regard this statement as heresy. The residence of a man in the village of his father has tended to emphasize relationship with the ancestral group that first populated that village, and there is no doubt that actual relationship, through the mother, with the members of other groups must in many cases have been forgotten in the course of generations. The term *ancestral family*, moreover, is used in this monograph to designate those individuals who believe themselves to be descended from one of the first groups that populated this earth.

b McIlwraith E-3 (1922-1924) 1948
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177 424 551 575 [179] from the Bella Bella, a fact emphasized by all. It is not difficult to understand, therefore, why elaborate myths are lacking, even if such were possessed by the Bella Bella. The Bella Coola possessed certain similar rites to which the Bella Bella prerogatives were in the process of being grafted at the time of the coming of the white man. There has since been general decay of ceremonial life, with the result that the whole situation is in a state of flux presenting great difficulties to the investigator.

428 551 575 *Secret* names are willed and inherited in the manner already described for other prerogatives. The type of dance, and the time of use, will be described in the following section of this chapter.

The Potlatch

* 556 128 It is unfortunate that an adequate treatment of Rank among the Bella Coola requires a description of the potlatch since this ceremony, or rather group of ceremonies, includes a number of features which, logically, should have been postponed until a later stage of this monograph. An effort has been made to lessen references to non-ritualistic features by the description, just given, of the basic concepts of chieftainship and the *secret* society. Other ideas will require rather lengthy digressions, a method of presentation which seems preferable to the use of many foot-notes, its only alternative.

General Observations

* 124 * 556 [431] In scientific and popular writings alike, the term "potlatch" has been applied both to the public giving of presents, and to the rites at which this occurs. But among the Bella Coola, such distribution of gifts is necessary at every ceremonial; accordingly, each is essentially a potlatch. There is one, however, which the inhabitants regard as the most important of all, the goal which every ambitious man aims to reach, the rite in which his ancestral myth can be displayed. In this

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monograph the term "potlatch" will be limited to this, the *dem*.

Every Bella Coola is, or should be, able to recount how, in the beginning of time, the supreme god, *Alquntám*, caused his ancestors to be created in his house in the land above, whence they were sent down to populate the earth. A creation legend of this type is a man's most treasured possession.[1] Most myths describe the adventures of these first people, how they prospered in the Bella Coola country until they were able to invite to their homes guests from far and near, to whom they showed what they had achieved, through the assistance of *Alquntám*, or of some other supernatural being. In so doing they were carrying out *Alquntám*'s wishes. He told some of these first people that if they accumulated much wealth, in those days chiefly food, there was danger that the provisions first stored would rot, hence they should cut away the bottom of the pile and present it to other men and women. The Bella Coola term for "to cut out that which is rotten" is *ldi*, hence the origin, according to their belief, of the word *dem*, which thus has the significance of "a giving away of long accumulated goods which otherwise might rot."

By the splendour of his gifts each of the first people able to give a potlatch (*lem*), spread the knowledge of his name and fame to the towns whence his guests had assembled. Further, those who had received dances from *Alquntám* were able to demonstrate them. In course of time those who had first given potlatches died, but on taking their fathers' names, the sons, or other descendants, endeavour ed to uphold the parental tradition by inviting guests from afar and giving them valuable presents. At such a ceremony the family history, or family myth, was recounted, so that the donor of a potlatch not only increased his own prestige, he incorporated therewith the traditions of his parent. This is the essence of the potlatch as carried out today.[2]

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[1] Examples of these are given in vol. I, chap. vi.

[2] It has been found convenient to use the present tense throughout, although the potlatch is not now carried out in its entirety.

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE5

wards and forwards sway the contestants with shouting and merriment, and those who have failed to carry away their boxes of food hasten to remove them out of the danger zone. It is a time of licence, and even one of the most influential chiefs may be struck by the ram or his food scattered without consideration. The ram is driven back, but those who bear it steer the log so that instead of passing out through the door it strikes the front wall, shattering some of the boards with their old paintings. With a shout they drive forwards again until part of the wall at the back of the house is likewise destroyed. Then those within the house gain the mastery and the log is carried outside, dragging its struggling bearers with it. They drop the log and return inside as if nothing untoward had occurred. This destruction of the house walls is a necessary preparation for their replacement with new paintings on new boards. When quiet has been restored a herald stands up.

"Listen!" he cries. "Ye chiefs, ye wives of chiefs, and ye commoners, soon we shall hear the supernatural beings."

Then the singers[6] beat out the tune of any *kusiut*. He whose song it is begins to dance, using the type of which he has the prerogative, but as the supernatural being with whom he has a ceremonial affinity is not present, the dance is not considered sacred. As soon as one *kusiut* has finished, the tune of another is beaten, and he too dances. The singers change from *kusiut* to *kusiut*, and please themselves about the order in which they shall dance, also about how many shall perform. This continues until late in the night. Then they beat out a *nusek* tune and the member of that society to whom it belongs performs his dance, a non-sacred affair, like those of the *kusiut*. One after another dances as his or her tune is beaten out, until dawn approaches. Meanwhile several *nusek* have been sent outside

[6] Henceforth in this monograph the term "singers" will be used as a translation of the Bella Coola word, *nuxalmi*. The singers sit together behind the fire. It is their duty to remember the tune and text of every song; to beat out this tune for every dancer and to accompany him by singing the words of his song.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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ever object was desired, and then set in a window of his house so that the sun could fall on one uncovered end. The owner firmly believes that this stone has brought him money on various occasions, and will do so again, though whether he expects the coins to be found inside of the wrapping, or merely to come to him in the course of trade is questionable. According to Bella Coola belief, they ought to appear beside the stone, but as this man attributes any good fortune to it, he never has any difficulty in proving its powers.

This stone is also used as a means of increasing the efficacy of prayer. When its owner washes ceremonially in the river before eating in the morning, he rubs it over his body as if it were soap and requests it to make him strong, make him well, grant him his desires, and so forth.

Shamanism

More important to the Bella Coola than any other manifestation of the supernatural is that power which makes an individual either an *ɬáɬwala* or an *ɬɬáɬaxɬats*. The former is a person who, owing to ability granted him by a supernatural being, is able to perform miraculous feats, especially in curing the sick; the latter is one with similar powers obtained from a ghost.[1] It is impossible to translate either of these terms accurately; the designation "shaman" is accordingly used in this monograph to describe both types of supernaturally endowed individuals. The most common and most important method of obtaining such power is from a living supernatural being; a person receiving the boon in this manner will be termed "shaman," and one empowered by a ghost will be known as "shaman from the dead."

The Bella Coola believe that long ago men were so much more powerful than at present, and so close to the supernatural, that all were virtually shamans. The prowess and adventures

[1] Ghosts are, of course, supernatural, but as the Bella Coola distinguish between shamans whose powers are derived from these two sources, it is convenient to follow their example.

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PHONETIC KEY*

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VOWELS

a, as in *father*
ä, as in *bar*
e, as in *fate*
i, as in *pique*
o, as in *note*
ö, as in *rule*
u, as in *but*
ü, as in *mat*
ı, as in *hit*
ŭ, as in *put*
ə, as in *pour*
ə, obscure vowel like *a* in *idea*
*, apparent vowels, voiced but slighted in enunciation. The same device is used for consonants slighted in enunciation.

CONSONANTS

b, d, h, k, l, m, n, p, s, t, w, y, z, as in English
g, voiced *k*
g^1, g^2, g^3, g^4, aspirated sounds
$\dot{g}$, $\dot{k}$, $\dot{q}$, glottalized stops
$\dot{k}$, retractive palatal *k*
$\dot{q}$, retractive palatal *g*
ĸ, ɢ, intermediate between oral and nasal sounds
ɴ, glottalized intermediate
dž, as in *jam*
c, as *ch* in *chief*
ł, spirantal *l*
ł, ł, ł
ł, glottalized *ł*
x, as in Scottish, *loch*
ɣ, voiced *x*, as in German, *ach*
ɣ, retractive palatal *x*, as in German, *ich*
r, peculiar *r* sound, apparently voiced

', for example, *a*, or *s*, indicates lengthening of preceding vowel or consonant
', indicates a glottal stop
', indicates aspiration
', indicates accentuation of the syllable so marked.

Based on the similar system described in Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages, Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vol. 66, No. 6, Washington (1916), pp. 3-5).

The ɣ sound was used only by one old man and several of the children and grandchildren.

[111]

*575 more difficult dramatic rites in which failure would lead to the
796 sanctioned leaving the secretaries of the society, the matter is
824 debated at length. The writer was present at one meeting held for this purpose, with regard to a performance which had not been carried out for over thirty years. An air of solemnity was evident throughout, as if each present realized the gravity of the topic. The prospective dancer explained what he wished to do, then anyone was at liberty to comment, and most of those present took advantage of it, the marshals speaking last of all. The influence of each speaker depended in part on the [854] type of *Secret* dance which he himself had given, and in part on his general status in the community as chief or otherwise, as intangible position dependent on public estimation rather than upon functional rights. In this case, after considerable discussion, it was decided that the dancer could proceed with his arrangements. But if there should be any doubt as to the would-be performer's ability, the marshals have no hesitation in prohibiting his intended rite, and they often do so later if rehearsals show that it is unlikely to be successful.

Refusal of permission to perform occurs only in case of the more difficult dances, which include the Cannibal, Scratch, Breaker, Fungus and *Excision*. Members of the society whose prerogatives are for one of these types are considered as having greater importance than those who can merely sing of some minor deity-person; yet all are equally members of the *Secret* society, which is not graded according to the performances of its members.

*575 Many of the more difficult dances require weeks of pre-
796 paration, when it is sometimes said that the dancer has disappeared to the land above. When he returns they usually conclude in four nights, the time taken by those of a simpler type. Each of these nights is known by an unverifiable term, and, as it will be necessary to use these throughout, it may assist the reader to summarize the ritual which takes place on each. It can be assumed that it is a simple dance, that is, one without elaborate preliminaries.

[List of a Secret dance - Analysis]

The first night is *kwaklaio* or *kwaklawa*.[1] This is when the call comes to a prospective dancer. This may be heralded by whistling from above, made by a *kwaxa* sent with a whistle to a neighbouring mountain for the purpose, by a thud on the roof, likewise produced by an accomplice, or by no intimation whatever. The dancer hears a low call, sometimes begins to walk in circles with bent head, or to act in some other peculiar manner, while a whistle sounds repeatedly. The uninitiated are at once expelled from his house and a herald informs the village that something strange has come upon the dancer. The *kukwaxa* gather in his house, and four times help him by the frenzied, but regular, beating of sticks. Then the singers sing a song previously prepared, the words describing either his patron or the land above. After listening closely, the *kukwaxa* join in and rehearse it until it is familiar. The dancer may or may not perform; if he is making in the corps, he does so for practice. If the hour is not too late, the singers may choose, purely for practice, to beat out a number of the songs of those *kukwaxa* who have already performed during the ceremonial season. A meal, provided by the dancer and his family, is then served. The singers next beat out the dancer's song once more and he dances, concluding the evening's performances. Novices and those who have already performed during the season take up their abode in the dancer's house, where they remain for the ensuing four days and nights.

The second day is *nuxwalilaga*.[2] Quite early in the morning a herald calls the *kukwaxa* to the dancer's house, an invitation accepted by as many as wish to do so. A second song is usually composed and practised in the same manner as on the previous evening. Several *kukwaxa* are sent to the forest to cut wood for masks, the number of sections required depending upon the number to be used. In the evening all members of the society assemble to practise the songs.[3] The making of the masks

[1] Kwaxalanuxsiwe'.

[2] The term *gal'wayi* is commonly used for the rites occurring on the day [illegible].

[3] The rehearsal of the second is sometimes postponed until this time.

F: McDougall E-9 (1922-1928) 1948
NEB Bellacoola NEB

The making of the masks

is allowed to different *hahaiai*, usually in accordance with the dancer's wishes, although a marshal normally gives out the actual tasks. The dancer, or one of his relatives, bestows presents on each person to whom work is allowed. The evening of *nuxnaiwas* is called *snalimukun*.

The third day is *qaiku*. Those to whom mask making has been entrusted assemble early in the dancer's house to start their work. About noon they are provided with a meal, to which other *hahaiai* may be invited. By late afternoon, when most of the work has been accomplished, the chips are carefully swept up and burned, and the house tidied, ready for the uninitiated who will be invited during the evening. On either this day or the one preceding, a platform, with raised sides, is built behind the fire on which the dancer can conceal himself and where he is supposed to remain during the remainder of the four days. About dusk the *hahaiai* are called in; the singers take their places behind the fire, Cannibals, Breakers, and Scratchers are in one of the back corners, where a matting enclosure may have been constructed for them, and the remainder group themselves without distinction around the walls. In Kimsquit, though not in Bella Coola, one or more of the masks may be displayed, suspended from a sloping pole behind the fire. If the singers think it necessary, they may practise the dancer's two songs once more. Then the uninitiated are called in, taking their places near the doorway. The singers beat out one of the dancer's songs and he dances in time to it, and the same is repeated for his second song. After some delay, which appears to be one of the requisites of every *hahaiai* performance, the singers strike up the songs of either a novice or a *hahaiai*, especially one who has already had a call during the ceremonial season, and the one thus summoned dances to his two songs. Late in the season, when many *hahaiai* have performed, only one song may be used, to prevent the ceremony dragging out to an interminable length, and songs of previous years are omitted. In any case, the ritual lasts for most of the night. When all have danced, the

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uninitiated are expelled, with the exception of the *sisaok* to whom, as guests, a meal is served. Then they too leave and the *kukusiut* eat together. Finally, the singers strike up one of the dancer's songs, and he dances to it to end the evening's rites. 575* 796

The fourth day is *nəkusam*, "That Which Is Opened." During the day the carpenters work to complete the masks, and towards dusk the house is again put in order. The *kukusiut* are summoned again to practise the songs, if necessary, and always to arrange who shall wear the masks, a matter left to the marshals and the carpenters. Then the uninitiated are called in to see the masked figures and watch any dramatic representation. After their exclusion, the masks are burnt. Then the *kukusiut* gather outside the dancer's house where his song is sung once more to send his call back above. Frequently another *kusiut* now receives a call, so that the *nəkusam* of one dancer is likewise the *kustāmem* for another. The *kukusiut* assemble in the latter's house, but the uninitiated are not allowed to return to that from which they have been ejected until the platform-enclosure has been destroyed at the end of the season. [104] [532] [533] [532]

A word might be said about *kusiut* paraphernalia, although much of this will have to be described in detail for special dances. Boas gives illustrations of a large number of *kusiut* masks and gives such an admirable description of them that little need be added. They are carved from the solid wood, the larger of beech, the smaller of alder, and each carpenter endeavours to make a striking effigy of the being portrayed. *Awi'kwalisair* is present at every dance and has become so well standardized that she can always be recognized. This is true, also, for Thunder, Echo, the *Asəkas*, the Laugher, the Hermaphrodite, and a few other supernatural beings, but so much variation occurs in others that even a *kusiut* of much experience cannot always tell what being is represented. The masks are painted, and sometimes the designs indicate the being, even though the carving fails to do so; verisimilitude is 575* 796 532 [114] [824] [776]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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quarry into a converging "v" of hunters, or someone may lie down as bait to attract the Cannibal so that the other lurking pursuers can secure him. No effort is spared to make the man-hunt realistic. Then they carry the captive, struggling and biting, to the canoes and set out for the village. The preliminaries are lengthened or curtailed until the tide is favourable for the navigation of the craft; about two hours is the usual time consumed. When in mid-stream, the cry, *ye* ··, is again raised; the supposed Cannibal has once more escaped! All this time X himself has been hiding in or near the village, and he now appears. Instantly the *ɬukusiut* left in the neighbourhood set off in pursuit, those returning on the canoes hurry their passage and join the chase. After a struggle they succeed in capturing X and bringing him to the village.

The Cannibal acts like a demoniac animal, struggling, kicking, and biting as if his adventures had entirely destroyed his reason. He drags his captors, a number of strong *ɬukusiut*, to the various houses, and they are barely able to restrain him within the doorways and to force him out, biting and raving at them. A skilful actor is able to impress the uninitiated to a considerable extent, and of course he is supported by his associates. When every house has been visited, X is carried back to his own and a herald summons all the *ɬukusiut* to cure him. The uninitiated are allowed to crowd near the door to watch.

The assumption is that X has had the nature and instincts of an animal enter into him; if this cannibalistic incubus[1] can be driven out by beating time, he will be restored to sanity. Two long, thin sounding-boards have been prepared previously, as well as a number of birch sticks with which the *ɬukusiut* beat time. One man stands up to lead the drummers, and the sticks rise and fall in unison with his movements, in the manner previously described. At first X prowls around the house,

[1] This expression will be used henceforth as an interpretation of *ai'ɬɑmx*, the power in form of an animal which, having entered a man, compels him to eat strange foods.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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a'gwa'c: String figure.
Saikwaxuts: Harbour on east side of King Island.
[227] *sälqäl'is*: Movable hoe-like container which can be raised at a salmon-weir.
Sälsälmaxo': 1—Supernatural herring woman, or perhaps herring head.
2—Carrier murderer living in the last century.
[823] *sälsälqa'*: Rock crystal used in *hamat'sa* initiation rites.
[822] *sälsmx sisk'umlxd*: River net for salmon.
Sätsalkut: Echo.
Saxnuxälaic: Supernatural being who advises the supreme god.
Saxnuxqualyt'auaic, "The Strengthener of the Breathing": One of *Tsi'xpälkw-a'i*'s names, and hence a designation given to shamans.
[805] *Sialaxälac*: Ancestral name created on earth by a *Komoxoic* man.
Siaqum, "When Herrings Spawn": Third moon after the winter solstice.
[825] *sidäqoic*: One of the river sculpins, the so-called cat-fish.
[805] *Sidäkaxc di Ana'lälmaxaic*, "The Coming of *Ana'lälmaxaic*": Fourth moon after the summer solstice.
sisaic: Servants; the term is used to describe the relationship of the supernatural beings to the supreme god.
[805] *Si'ciskäl*, "The Time for Eating Dog Salmon": Second moon after the summer solstice.
Si'cmai'ail, "The Time for Eating Coho Salmon": Third moon after the summer solstice.
[584] *si'ilkäkäl*: Presents, given unostentatiously, at the time when a proposal of mar-
[431] riage is broached.
si'ipsäm, "The Ability to Walk": Strength or stability as obtained for children by the repurchase of their mother from their father.
[583] *Sämi*, "Sits Down": Moon of the winter solstice.
[805] *Sä'qämi*, "Time for Eating Spring Salmon": Moon of the summer solstice.
Säskämaxk, "Time When Sockeye Salmon Ascend the Rivers": First moon after the summer solstice.
● [104] *sälä*, "One who Cures": Functionary who protects novices at *hamat'sa* and *nusalt* rites.
Sälälkmaxc: Evil supernatural being who acts as executioner for his fellows in the land above.
[805] *Sälqäk*, "Time for Making Salmon-Weirs": Fourth moon after the winter solstice.
Sämaläxälälac: *Kwäxsi* name of a Bella Coola man.
Sämälälqut: Ancestral name of a *Xixaic* man.
Sämam: Chief of mythical house in the sky.
[224] *Sämc*: Celebrated composer.
sämmay: Salmon-weir.
[827] *snaxqmo'ac*: *Nusalt* head-dress.
sniuäsis: Breath, or power of being alive, an element in the human body.
[761] *si nipaläxsnimas*: Hide-and-seek as played by two boys.
Sinqmoc: Man led astray by a supernatural being in the beginning of time.
[805] *Sinsmxwäk*, "Time for the Use of Chicken Hand-Nets": Fifth moon after the winter solstice.
[726] *Sinsälkmaxäl*, "Where It Spoke": Outpost near mouth of the Kwatna River, occupied to give warning in times of danger.
Sinsmxälälaxc: Benign supernatural being who causes Cannibals to return from the land above.

4: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1925
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE?

ENTOMOLOGY AMONG THE BELLACOOLA AND CARRIER INDIANS

By HARLAN I. SMITH

B 131

THE Bellacoola Indians live in the Norway of Canada, about midway of the Pacific Coast, where Sir Alexander Mackenzie, the first white man to cross Canada, reached the sea; that is, about half way between Vancouver and Prince Rupert. Their country is around the head of the inlets about sixty miles in from or east of Ocean Falls and the usual route of the steamers up and down the coast. This inland passage is with few exceptions protected by the outer fringe of islands. The Bellacoola language is one of the Salish linguistic stock. The people are of the typical North Pacific Coast culture, characterized by the extensive use of red cedar and sea products, especially salmon, huge houses of split cedar planks with carved house posts, and totem poles, and immense seagoing canoes dug out of cedar. They were expert carpenters and had a peculiar art, especially in painting and carving, largely of conventionalized animal forms—a valuable contribution to the art of the world. This art may become of great financial value to the manufacturers of this country as well as a magnet capable of exploitation to bring in tourists with money from foreign lands. These Indians had a very highly developed social organization, many dramas and rituals, and a complex financial system popularly known as the potlatch.

B 105

C 101 [131]

The Carrier Indians of Ulkatcho, on the other head, live in the high plateau of the semi-arid region, perhaps 75 miles northeast of the Bellacoola. They differ from the Bellacoola in language, appearance, and culture perhaps as much as do the Turks from the English. They had a less realistic art, which was largely geometric and pictographic, highly conventionalized and symbolic. Their social organization and financial system also were less highly developed.

B C 114 104

From time to time during 1920-1923 inclusive, I have secured from both these peoples data about their use of materials. Part

4: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1925
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7

of these data refer to insects, and may be of interest to entomologists, although my spelling of Indian words is very problematical, because some of the sounds I can neither hear nor make, and I am unable to record adequately many of those that I can hear. The data here given are preliminary to a complete working over of my notes, but are believed to be nearly complete.

Insects apparently were not so well observed by the Bellacoola as were useful mammals and plants, the stinger of the bumble-bee, for instance, being supposed to be in its mouth. Few insects had names, that is, mainly those which were used or which troubled the Indians. Insects were not used for food, and honey was unknown until after the coming of the white man. The head of the *gad-fly was used as a pattern in painting designs, the nest of the* yellow-jacket in sympathetic magic or witchcraft, and "fly spit" was said to be good for sores. They had a story about the bumble-bee.

Among the Ulkatcho also observation of insects was weaker than that of mammals and plants, and they apparently had names for only a few insects, those which troubled them. Ant lyon pits and its method of taking prey were known. Insects were of no use to the Ulkatcho whatever. An instance was observed of an Indian smoking himself with a buzzing fly held in his mouth. They employed smudges, fish oil, gum of the cottonwood, and blossoms of cow parsnip with oil to protect themselves from mosquitoes, black flies and no-see-ums, and smoke to protect foods from flies.

The Ant lyon, among the Ulkatcho, is called Kinoolkats. It is said to be numerous at Ulkatcho, but that it was useless and that there was no story about it. My informant voluntarily showed me the pits made by the larvae of this insect and, catching ants for the purpose, demonstrated its well-known method of taking its prey.

The grasshopper (Orthoptera), that makes a noise by rubbing its wings together when it flies, was called Tolcus, among the Ulkatcho.

"Fly spit," that is the material surrounding a nymph of a spittle insect, also known as a frog hopper (Cercopidae), is said

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

the shore of the Pacific in 1791. As a result of this intercommunication between the Bilqula and Tinneh it is found that houses essentially similar to those of the Coast Indians in mode of construction and ornamentation, though smaller and less skilfully built, occur far inland on the upper waters of the Salmon and Blackwater Rivers; while, on the other hand, the practical identity of some points in the mythology of the Bilqula with that of the Tinneh of the interior is a clear instance of reciprocal influence.

The second part of the report will be found to contain the most complete series thus far obtained of anthropological measurements relating to the tribes of the North West Coast, with a discussion by the author of the data which these afford, in which several points of value are brought out and important suggestions are made for further inquiry. In this connection it must be mentioned that the committee are much indebted to the courteous and enlightened liberality of *Major J. W. Powell, Director of* the U.S. Bureau of Ethnology, who has permitted Dr. Boas to incorporate with the measurements obtained in British Columbia those made by him in Washington and Oregon under Major Powell's directions. It has thus been possible for Dr. Boas to give to his treatment of this subject a comprehensive character, which could not otherwise have been obtained, by enlarging the scope of his discussion so as to include the more or less intimately related tribes of the Pacific States with those of the Province of British Columbia itself.

Third Report on the Indians of British Columbia.
By Dr. FRANZ BOAS.

The following alphabet has been used in the report:—

The vowels have their continental sounds, namely: *a*, as in *father*; *e*, like *a* in *mate*; *i*, as in *machine*; *o*, as in *note*; *u*, as in *rule*.

In addition the following are used: *ä*, *ö*, as in German; *d=ew* in *few*; *g=ng* in *finger* (Lepsius's *ŋ*).

Among the consonants the following additional letters have been used: *gr*, a very guttural *g*, similar to *gr*; *kr*, a very guttural *k*, similar to *kr*; *q*, the German *ch* in *bach*; *x*, the German *ch* in *ich*; *c*, between *q* and *x*; *sh* in *shore*; *z*, as *th* in *this*; *tl*, an explosive *l*; *dl*, a palatal *l*, pronounced with the back of the tongue (dorso-apical).

THE BILQULA.

The Bilqula, who are generally called Bella Coola, are the most northern tribe belonging to the Salish family. They are separated from the tribes speaking allied languages by the Chilcotin (of the Tinneh stock) in the interior, and on the coast by the Kwakiutl. Their language is—considered grammatically—more closely related to the dialects of the Coast Salish than to those of the tribes of the interior. A number of terms referring to the sea and sea animals are the same in Bilqula and in the dialects of the Gulf of Georgia; so that we may safely assume that the two groups of tribes were at one time closely related, and that the Bilqula were differentiated from this group. They inhabit the coasts of Bentinck Arm and Dean Inlet, as shown on the map accompanying the sixth report of the committee, and extend far up Bella Coola River. Since the end of last century they